

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 00740 191504Z

44

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-11 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

ACDA-05 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 ARA-06 SIL-01 LAB-04 /087 W

----- 035028

R 191317Z JAN 76

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8826

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

USMISSION USBERLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

USMISSION GENEVA

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMCONSUL MUNICH

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

CINCEUR

CONFIDENTIAL MOSCOW 0740

CINCEUR FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, FR, UR, XH

SUBJ: TIMOFEEV AND WORKING CLASS GROWTH: A GESTURE TO THE PCF?

1. SUMMARY. IN MAJOR THEORETICAL ARTICLE ON WORKING

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 00740 191504Z

CLASS GROWTH AND IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE IN JAN 17 PRAVDA,

T.T. TIMOFEYEV REBUTS RIGHTISTS WHO CLAIM WORKERS AND MANAGERS ARE IDENTICAL AND LEFTISTS WHO INCLUDE "RIFRAFF" IN PROLETARIAT, AND CLAIMS "INTELLECTUALIZATION OF LABOR" IS KEY TREND OF CURRENT PERIOD. TO THE EXTENT HIS ARGUMENT TOUCHES ON DEBATE OVER REVOLUTIONARY TACTICS IN WEST, TIMOFEYEV COMES DOWN ON SIDE OF ZAGLADIN "SOFT LINE," BUT HIS ARTICLE MAY BE ADDRESSED MAINLY TO RUMORED INTENTION OF PCF TO EXPAND DEFINITION OF PROLETARIAT AT FEBRUARY PARTY CONGRESS. IF SO, TIMOFEYEV APPEARS TO SIGNAL THAT CPSU DOES NOT WISH TO HASSLE FRENCH ON THIS ISSUE, AT A TIME WHEN MORE SERIOUS PROBLEMS ARE ON THE TABLE BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES. END SUMMARY. END CONFIDENTIAL

2. BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED. WRITING AS A CORRESPONDING MEMBER OF THE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES (AND NOT IN HIS CAPACITY AS DIRECTOR OF THE INSTITUTE OF THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR MOVEMENT), T.T. TIMOFEYEV ADDRESSES "THE GROWTH OF THE WORKING CLASS AND THE CONTEMPORARY IDOLOGICAL STRUGGLE" IN LENGTHY PRAVDA COMMENTARY JAN 17.

3. INTRODUCTION NOTES ACTIVIZATION OF WORLD REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT, GROWTH OF ITS MAIN FORCE-- "THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS, THE WORLD SYSTEM OF SOCIALISM",-- THE OBJECTIVE NECESSITY OF INCREASED INFLUENCE FOR WORKING CLASS "AND ITS COMMUNIST AVANTGARDE", AND FACT THAT MARXIST-LENINIST TEACHING ON THE MISSION OF THE WORKING CLASS IS CONSEQUENTLY AT THE CENTER OF THE IDOLOGICAL-THEORETICAL STRUGGLE BETWEEN SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM AND ITS OPPONENTS.

4. FIRST PART IS DEVOTED TO DEMONSTRATION OF GROWTH OF WORKING CLASS AND TO INCORRECT INTERPRETATIONS OF ITS SIGNIFICANCE. FOR DEMONSTRARTION, TIMOFEYEV RESORTS TO FIGURES DEVELOPED BY HIS INSTITUTE, TO EFFECT THAT WORKING CLASS NUMBERS HAVE GROWN FROM LESS THAN 10 MILLION IN MID-19TH CENTUREY TO 30 MILLION AT BEGINNING OF 20TH TO OVER 600 MILLION TODAY, WITH FOLLOWING BREAKDOWN: 160 IN "SOCIALIST" COUNTRIES, CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 00740 191504Z

105 IN WESTERN EUROPE, 110 IN NORTH AMERICA, JAPAN, AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND, 50 IN LATIN AMERICA, AND 120 IN "AFRO-ASIAN STATES," PRESUMABLY INCLUDING CHINA. FOR INTERPRETATION, MAJOR POINT IS "BASIC DISTINCTION" WHICH "SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM" MAKES BETWEEN PROCESSES LEADING TO GROWTH OF WORKING CLASS INSIDE "SOCIALIST" COUNTRIES, WHERE IT IS WELL OFF, AND OUTSIDE, WHERE SHARPENING CRISIS SWELLS ITS RANKS

WITH PROLETARIZED SMALL AND MEDIUM PROPERTY OWNERS
IN DEVELOPED COUNTRIES AND WITH "TRANSITIONAL AND
LUMPEN ELEMENTS" IN THE THIRD WORLD. HE REJECTS BOTH
THEORY OF "LIBERAL BOURGEOIS AND RIGHT OPPORTUNIST"
IDEOLOGUES WHO CLAIM WORKERS AND MANAGERS ARE IDENTICAL
AND THEORY OF "LEFT REVOLUTIONARIES AND MAOISTS" WHICH
COUNTS DECLASSE AND LUMPEN ELEMENTS IN WORKING CLASS.
REAL ANALYSIS, HE SAYS, REQUIRES SCIENTIFIC, COMPLEX
APPROACH TO PROCESSES BASED ON DIALECTICAL-MATERIALIST
METHODOLOGY.

5. SECOND PART CLAIMS TO APPLY SUCH AN APPROACH, BUT
ALSO DEVOTES MOST OF ITS SPACE TO REBUTTING SELECTED
OPPONENTS, WITH DANIEL BELL AND RAYMOND ARON NAMED.
MAJOR OFFENDERS ARE THOSE WHO DEFINE WORKERS PURELY AS
PHYSICAL LABORERS IN FACTORIES AND POINT TO RELATIVE
DECLINE AS PROOF THAT WORKING CLASS ITSELF IS DISAPPPEAR-
ING; THOSE WHOSE ANALYSIS SHOWS PERSISTENCE OF CLASS
DISTINCTIONS AND EVEN "ANTAGONISTIC CONTRADICTIONS"
IN DEVELOPED "SOCIALIST" SOCIETIES; THOSE WHO CLAIM
TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS IS RUBBING OUT OLD DISTINCTIONS
BETWEEN CLASSES; AND THOSE WHO PROCLAIM END OF IDIOLOGY.
MAIN REBUTTAL ARGUMENT, SPRINKLED WITH QUOTES FROM
MARX, ENGELS AND BREZHNEV, IS THAT LABOR BECOMES MORE
INTELLECTUALIZED AS IT BECOMES PROGRESSIVELY SOCIALIZED,
THAT INCREASING ACCESS OF SOVIET WORKING CLASS TO
CULTURE PROVES THIS SPLENDIDLY, AND THAT THIS PROCESS
INCREASES RATHER THAN DECREASES WORKING CLASS'
INFLUENCE ON THE WORLD SCALE.

6. CONCLUSION RETURNS TO OPENING GUN, WHICH IS THAT
"REMARKABLE FEATURE OF OUR TIMES" IS STRENGTHENING OF
LEADING ROLE OF WORKING CLASS' REVOLUTIONARY AVANTGARDE,
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 MOSCOW 00740 191504Z

THE MARXIST-LENINIST PARTIES, AND OF INTERNATIONAL
POSITION OF USSR AND OTHER "SOCIALIST" COUNTRIES. END
UNCLASSIFIED.

7. BEGIN CONFIDENTIAL. COMMENT. BLURRING THE
BOUNDARY BETWEEN THE INTERNATIONAL WORKERS' MOVEMENT
AND THE SOVIET STATE, CLAIMING THAT THE WORKING CLASS
IN COMMUNIST STATES IS UNADULTERATED, AND BANISHING
CHINESE FROM "SOCIALIST" TO "AFRO-ASIAN" CATEGORY: ALL
COME NATURALLY TO A SOVIET SCHOLAR, AND ARE PRACTICALLY
OBLIGATORY IN PRE-CONGRESS PERIOD HERE. MORE INTER-
ESTING QUESTIONS CONCERN RELATIONSHIP OF TIMOFEYEV'S
ARGUMENT TO DEBATE OVER COMMUNIST TACTICS IN WESTERN
EUROPE AND CURRENT STATUS OF ECPC PREPARATIONS.

8. ASSUMING THAT THERE IS A USEFUL DISTINCTION TO BE MADE BETWEEN ZARODOV "TOUGH LINE" AND ZAGLADIN "SOFT LINE" ON REVOLUTIONARY TACTICS IN THE WEST, AS MANY WEST EUROPEANS DO, TO THE EXTENT HE ADDRESSES THE ISSUES TIMOFEYEV COMES DOWN ON THE SIDE OF ZAGLADIN. ZAGLADIN'S ARTICLES IN THE OCTOBER AND NOVEMBER PROBLEMS OF PHILOSOPHY STRESSES THE COMPLEXITY OF THE PROCESSES INVOLVED AND IMPLIED THAT IT IS UNWISE TO FORCE THE PACE OF HISTORY BY IGNORING OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS FOR REVOLUTION, WHICH IN ANY CASE RIPEN MORE NATURALLY IN BACKWARD AREAS. TIMOFEYEV, WHOSE MAJOR ARTICLE IN THE AUGUST INTERNATIONAL LIFE ON THE WORLD AFTER CSCE ALSO STRUCK CAREFULLY TO THE SOVIETS' FAVORITE MIDDLE ROAD BETWEEN "RIGHT OPPORTUNISTS" AND "LEFTISTS AND MAOISTS", ALSO PAINTS A PICTURE IN WHICH IT IS HARD TO FIND ANY "OBJECTIVE" REASON FOR REVOLUTIONARY TAKOVERS IN DEVELOPED WESTERN COUNTRIES.

9. IT SEEMS TO US HIS STRESS ON THE "INTELLECTUALIZATION OF LABOR" MAY RELATE DIRECTLY THE FRENCH PARTY'S REPORTED INTENTION TO EXPAND ITS THEORETICAL CONSTITUENCY BEYOND THE PROLETARIAT ALONE, AT THE UPCOMING PARTY CONGRESS. IT IS UNCLEAR TO US WHETHER FRENCH WISH TO DROP DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AS A GOAL, AS PORTUGUESE DID, OR TO STRETCH DEFINITION OF WORKING CLASS TO INCLUDE WHITE-COLLAR WORKERS.

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 MOSCOW 00740 191504Z

EITHER CASE WOULD INVOLVE MAJOR THEORETICAL POINT PREGNANT WITH FURTHER TENSION BETWEEN PCF AND CPSU. IT THUS SEEMS TO US THAT SOVIETS MAY BE USING TIMOFEYEV TO ANNOUNCE CONCILIATORY ATTITUDE, OR AT LEAST UNWILLINGNESS TO MAKE AN ISSUE AT A TIME WHEN MORE SERIOUS ISSUES, IN BILATERAL RELATIONS AND IN ECPC PREPARATIONS, ARE ON THE TABLE. END COMMENT.

END CONFIDENTIAL.

STOESSEL

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptoning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PRESS COMMENTS, LABOR RELATIONS, COMMUNISM
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 19 JAN 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976MOSCOW00740
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760019-0981
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760144/aaaabnfb.tel
Line Count: 210
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 24 MAR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <24 MAR 2004 by CollinP0>; APPROVED <25 MAR 2004 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: TIMOFEEV AND WORKING CLASS GROWTH: A GESTURE TO THE PCF?
TAGS: PFOR, FR, UR, XH
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006